/3/

178 584 614 There are informants who remember the time when there were chuneles, and the younger ones know about it because their fathers have told them. The social conflict brought about by the disappearance of this institution seems to have its most intense point in what concerns marriage. It was the chunel of the clan of a girl to whom the parents of a boy would go to ask for her in marriage. He received gifts and gave his consent in case he thought it advantageous, and, accompanied by the boy and his parents, he went to the house of her parents, to whom he presented the pleas of the young man. No one could oppose the decision of the chunel. An informant adds: "If the woman does not [586] love her husband and leaves him and flees, the man advises the chunel and the chunel eats the woman." She dies if she does not respect the wishes of the oldest man of her clan. Now that there [578] are no chuneles, a boy, with his parents or without them, is accompanied by any member of the clan to which the girl belongs; generally the parents are opposed, the girl is not willing, and the use of force, which serves instead of the traditional fear and reverence, only gives rise to conflicts, bringing irreconcilable hatreds.

614 Formerly the clans of Cancuc were four: Chik, Chejeb, Ijká, and Boj. At present only the first three exist, the members of the Boj clan having been incorporated into the Ijká clan. This fusion of two clans took place a short time before the political revolts to [125] which we have referred. While taking the census of the town, we found marriages between individuals belonging to these two clans, concluded before the fusion. Since that date "the Boj know that they are now Ijká," and clan exogamy has prevented these unions; "If a Boj marries an Ijká now, the two will die," say my informants, "because they are chapomales."

614 539 776 To an inquiry about the reason for the fusion and the manner of accomplishing it, our informants gave the following explanations, which show undeniably the close relationship existing between clan and nagual:

423 592 [184] In the most acculturated communities (Aguacatenango and Amatenango) individually held property is more general. The head of the house is the owner of the parcel and he can manage it as he pleases. Referring to Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1980, p. 11) states that:

> In general, land is "owned"—that is, controlled—by the household; as long as the son lives with the father, he may speak of "his land," but in fact he works the land with his father, planting what and when his father de-
[428] cides. The son who lives apart is usually given a piece of land by his father, and he acquires new land which he, in turn, will pass on to his sons at his death or, if he chooses, before.

[613] [593] At this level the lineage concept has disappeared, and the only recognized connection is the father-son relationship.

423 Irrigated lands ("tierras irrigables"), however, in Aguacatenango and in Amatenango contain parcels belonging to private owners and parcels used in common, which are administered or given by the local authorities to be cultivated. Metzger (*ibid.*) informs us that: "Recently, land has been bought on the edges of the town by each of the two barrios for the exclusive use of their members, while in the irrigable area the holdings of members of the two barrios are separate and watered by separate canals."

[175] Ejido lands exist in almost all the region, distributed according to the Programa Agrario de la Revolución Mexicana since 1914 but in some communities not put into practice until after 1930. These lands are administered by the "comite ejidal" of each municipio, which gives to any individual who needs land the permission to cultivate it. These lands cannot be sold or transferred in any way, because they are considered common property.

421 586 Family land as well as the house and its equipment belong to the man. When a marriage is dissolved, the woman goes back to her parents without taking anything but

[P 212-A]

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

her own clothes and her backstrap loom. A widow may continue living in the hut and use its equipment only if she has a son. Otherwise, she must leave the house and return to her father's home because the land will be claimed by the brothers or other male relatives of the deceased husband.

Production and Consumption Groups

The family controls all matters related to production and consumption. The head of the house, with the help of his wife and other members of the family, takes care of farming and producing the basic food crops. In the most conservative communities, the old custom of planting by a cooperative group, composed of relatives and friends, is still practiced. This is a task for men exclusively, since much skill and strength are required to dig up the ground in carefully spaced, perfectly straight rows. The owner of the milpa has to fast and observe sexual abstinence before starting the planting.

Only the family shares in the rest of the labor, according to their sex: men take care of tasks requiring much effort; women perform those such as tending domestic animals. Help from relatives and neighbors may also be asked occasionally, to build up fences around the orchard, to open or improve irrigation systems, etc.

Trade and Markets

Tenango and Amatenango concentrate on producing ceramics and trading them to neighboring municipios. Other municipios have a very limited commercial activity: Tenejapa exports a few sleeping mats; Oxchuc, ropes, nets, and pita bags; Cancuc, wooden combs; Bachajon, clay toys. These Tzeltal villages have no specialized merchants as do Zinacantan and Chamula.

There are a few markets where a large number of people meet regularly: Teopisca, in the south, has a Sunday market where natives from Aguacatenango, Amatenango, and Pinola meet. In the central part of the region they meet every Sunday at the mar-

[P. 212-B]

584 [184] ments through a special person (*chunel*) for each of the four clans, and differed from Oxchuc, where the case is presented to the nearest old man of the clan. In Cancuc, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, p. 3):

> The boy's parents dealt with the *Chunel* of the girl's clan when petitioning her. He received the gifts and gave approval; and then accompanied by the boy and his parents he went into the house of the girl's parents. There, he presented the boy's petition. Nobody could oppose the Chunel's decisions. The girl would die if she didn't obey the decisions of the elder of the clan.

583 Once a marriage feast is finished, the boy stays in his parents-in-law's house to fulfill the bride price (*stojyinam*). This service, which consists in helping the father-in-law in the milpa and in other duties, usually lasts a year, or less if arrangements are made in advance. Frequently during this period the man spends alternate periods of three weeks with his parents-in-law and with his own parents. When he has the means to do it, he builds his own house and starts the new cycle of a nuclear family.

581 585 574 [273] [614] After the first year of marriage, if the couple get along together, the man must make a present of two garrafones of aguardiente and the same petitionary items of food, though in larger amounts. This time, more of the girl's clan are present, and so increase the importance of the event. The purpose is to celebrate the success of the couple and the union that will exist between the two families. This big *tertulia*, along with the corresponding meal, is called [888] *mukel-ja* ('abundance of drink'). Old men of [273] the clan who cannot attend receive at their homes the portion of aguardiente they • 586 should have drunk. On the other hand, if the couple could not get along during the first year and the union is annulled because of the woman's fault, her parents must give back all they have received during the first ritual.

581 574 Finally, to bring all these duties to an

[P. 218-A]

591 order, they will also marry and with their spouses live in the house of their father. In general, the older sibling moves out when a younger sibling marries (if not before). The youngest male sibling when he marries is not required to move--he takes "care of" his parents in their old age and becomes sole possessor of the house. The relatively older male siblings are established in houses of their own by the parents as close as can be managed to the parents' house.

Thus, there is discriminable clustering of male siblings in Aguacatenango. The youngest male sibling who is married lives in the parents' house and the older males live in houses which are immediately adjacent to his. The female siblings tend to be scattered more widely throughout the rest of the town.

591 592 562 Should the family fail to procreate male offspring, one of the daughters may remain in the parental home and bring in a husband to live with her there--they in turn become possessors of the house.

591 586 It is not unusual that marriages are broken off in the course of movement through the residence pattern. When such happens, the spouses return to their respective households of origin until remarriage. This reversal of residence pattern in the case of separation does not disturb the major pattern outlined above.

591 There are also cases where the youngest of the male siblings does not remain in the parental house, though this is

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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bly similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now. Just as a man defines himself as an agriculturalist, a woman defines herself as a potter. Men complain if their wives do not produce pottery, and I know of two cases of separation on the grounds that the woman was not fulfilling one of her functions as housewife by helping the family budget with pottery production. Most women like to make pottery: it helps them to pass the day, and they say they would be bored without it. Some of the women who have gone with their husbands for extended stays in hot country have tried to make pottery out of clays available there, but because of its inferior quality, they have not had much success. Unlike women of neighboring towns, the women of Tzo'ontahal usually do not accompany their husbands to the fincas "because they have their work at home."

Making pottery. The women make a wide variety of household and ceremonial objects, but the item which has the widest market distribution is the water storage jar (See Plate 7). They introduce new items in response to local needs, such as the funnel used in channeling liquor into large containers from the retort of the still. One vessel which is disappearing from production is the large ceremonial cooking pot. The only woman who knew how to do this (or who admitted to knowing, since it is unpaid work) died in the 60s, and no one has replaced her. One woman who had a reputation for eccentricity, introduced several elaborate vases and ashtrays. Her creative imagination was best exemplified in a combined ashtray and vase which featured four frogs poised on the lip of the tray, presumably drinking from a fountain. Reina (1962–1963) has pointed out that women of the Guatemalan community of Chinautla who wish to be accepted in the community must limit themselves to conventional forms, and the same restriction seems to apply in Tzo'ontahal.

The women of a household work as a group in collecting clay and in firing pottery. Clay is free since it is found in the communally owned hills on the perimeter of the town. It is collected preferably during the rainy season when it is easier to gather from the open gorges in which it is found, but if the supply runs out, other trips are made. All of the women of the household go, sometimes with neighbors or relatives in groups of five or six. They collect large clay balls weighing from forty to fifty pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline.

(see plates following p.198..Analyst)

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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592 The household into which an individual is born remains a resource base
59 throughout his life. In nine cases noted in Table 17 in which separations
586 occurred, the spouse returned to his or her natal home. In most cases in-
592 volving the death of a spouse, the widow or widower stays in the house-
736 hold established during the marriage. If the children are too young to be economically useful, the surviving parent may return to the parental household with his or her children, or they may move in with married siblings. If the family was living with the parents of one of the spouses, the surviving members usually remain there even if the elder couple are not the parents of the widow or widower. A young widow living alone is the prey of drunken men during fiestas and requires a protector.

586 The stability of marriage can be seen in the statistics on changes in con-
587 jugal status in the period from the first census in 1958 to the second census
[125] in 1964 (Table 18). Of 264 marriages formed at the time of the first census, only 15, or 5 percent, were voluntarily dissolved; 16 percent were broken by the death of one or both spouses, and another 1 percent by the death of both partners. 10 widowers and 4 widows remarried, an index both to the greater availability of women for remarriage as well as to the necessity for a man to have a woman in the house.

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TABLE 18. Changes in Conjugal Status, 1958–1964

Conjugal status	*Alannantik*	*Ahk'olnantik*	*Total*
Same	92	89	181
Separated	3	11	14
First marriage	28	65	93
Widowed	13	26	39
Two wives		1	1
Remarried			
Widower	6	4	10
Widow	2	2	4
Both died	3	1	4
Returned to wife	3	1	4
Unknown	3	21	24
Total	153	221	374

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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The relationship of respect and obedience between parents and children is expected to last throughout life. When a boy reaches the age of eighteen, his parents are expected to provide him with a wife. Wealthier families tend to fulfill this obligation at an earlier age than do poorer families, in which the boy may have to work in the fincas or in the sawmills to acquire the money for his own marriage.

Instruction in sexual behavior and reproduction is not characterized by continuity, as is instruction about work tasks. Children are given no information about sex prior to marriage, and girls remain entirely innocent. They may be pregnant several months before they are aware of what is happening. The complete sexual segregation in work tasks and play during adolescence makes the relationship between sexes strained.

Even after marriage, the parents are concerned with maintaining their child's marital situation, or, if they judge their child's spouse to be incorrigible, to help him get rid of his partner. In the case of women, in particular, parents continue to provide a refuge in case a daughter's husband should die, be sent to prison, or prove incompatible. Parents usually accompany their children if they are called into court, and failure to attend is tantamount to admitting the guilt of the child.

In successful marriages, the parents-in-law are equivalent to parents and are called "mother" and "father." The parents of both spouses attend the life crisis ceremonies of their children and grandchildren. Grandparents provide support and care for grandchildren if their parents should die or remarry.

When parents reach the age of about sixty-five, they are no longer expected to work actively. A man will then distribute all of his land and animals among his children. He will expect to be taken care of by all of his children, but special responsibility falls on the youngest who will inherit the house. Sometimes aged parents move from one of their children's houses to another, spending a few months or years with each. Children are expected to pay for any curing ceremonies necessary in their parents' old age and to provide a good funeral appropriate to their wealth. Failure to do this incurs loss of respect with the neighbors and collateral relatives of the deceased. If the parents die after they have distributed their possessions, the crisis following the death is minimal. At the funeral, mature children of a deceased parent exhibit to the community their filial respect.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Appendix 1

Settlement of Domestic Cases

A. House Arrangement of Separation

The following transcription of a tape recording concerns the house arrangement of a domestic dispute involving Alberta, the niece and adopted daughter of Mariano. She left her husband and returned to Mariano's home with her one-year-old child because of her husband's abusive treatment. Mariano invited all of the members of the betrothal party, as well as the maliwanehetik who had assisted in the marriage negotiations and Victorio, Alberta's husband. The leader of the betrothal negotiations was unable to attend because he had been drinking all day at another betrothal party. The arrangement proceeded with the padrino of the wedding, Pablo, and Alvino, Victorio's uncle and another elder in the betrothal negotiations, leading the discussion. I asked Mariano to tape the session so that my presence would not be an interference. In the joking session, the tape recorder became a target for the men's humor when, trying to replay it, they found that one section had not recorded clearly.

Pablo opened the discussion by asking the errant husband's elder representative, Feliciano, if the family wanted to take the girl back. Feliciano agreed that that was their purpose in coming, and that they must hear what happened to cause the dispute between the couple. Maria, the foster mother of Alberta, summarized their complaints against Victorio and his family.

Maria: *It is almost as though the child [Alberta's year-old daughter] has no father. We have been feeding her because we have had to support both of them. When the child became sick with diarrhea the father did nothing to help.*
Pablo: *Yes, we have to think of that. The child was frightened by her father and became ill.*
Maria: *When he came to our house, he fought Alberta, and the child was ill. Alberta went to the courthouse to complain about his behavior.*
Pablo: *It couldn't be arranged in the courthouse. It is better to settle the dispute here in the house.*

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Maria: *Whenever he came to see her, he was drunk and came in fighting.*

Victorio: *It is a lie. I came, but I was not only fighting. I wasn't always very drunk. I came there sober to speak to you. I asked about how my wife was. Then I went to see my uncle in Grandeza. He told me that if he couldn't order her to come, then I better come here to hear what is said. When I went there, I was sober. I brought two bottles of beer. He said, "Ah, it is you," when I arrived at his house. "Come in and sit down." I sat down. I took off the cap of the beer and measured it out. "What have you come to say?" he asked me. "I am unhappy, father," I said. "What has happened to you?" he said. "I went to see Alberta," I said. He asked me if I had beaten her, and I said, "No, we only spoke a few words."*

Santia: *But if you hadn't hit her, why would she have come back to her father's house?"*

Victorio: *I only wanted to come to an understanding with her.*

Alvino: *So it is, you came to speak to me.*

Victorio: *It was in order to arrive at an understanding as you had told me. But I didn't succeed then.*

Alvino: *You didn't succeed in what you wanted?*

Victorio: *No, nothing.*

Alvino: *Well, when nothing happened, you could have gone later to ask with good words.*

Victorio: *I returned late in the afternoon. I had been drinking a little beer, and I was a little drunk. My father-in-law came with me. He had a fourth of liquor inside his shirt. We arrived at prayertime. My father-in-law was in the church since he was mayordomo at the time. We came in good faith to hear what was wrong.*

Mariano: *But then he came another time. I had gone to hot country to work. He came to the house and wanted to break it. He pulled out two of the tiles in the gate and entered. That was his crime.*

Victorio's father: *That wasn't good. You shouldn't go drunk when you can't understand anything.*

Maria: *We are not at fault. We spoke to him with good words. We told him he could take his wife.*

Elder woman of Victorio's family: *We told him he ought not to come when he was drunk.*

Pablo: *But now he wants to change for the better. You ought not to drink. It is better to eat meat and vegetables, and find corn and beans for your wife and child. Now we have arranged it, and you can take your wife and child to your house.*

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Mariano took out cigarettes, and the group relaxed as all lit up the cigarettes and smoked. They discussed my tape recorder as they listened to the tape replayed. When they came to the section that did not record well, they decided that they should take it out and urinate on it. One man suggested that they should put it in prison, and another said that they should shoot it. This provoked general laughter. They went on to discuss the smoking habits of Ladinos. Pablo remarked that Ladino lawyers do nothing but sit in their offices and talk and smoke. Mariano and Victorio's father joked a great deal, the latter maintaining that Pablo had threatened to castrate him. This was picked up by Pablo who said that then Mariano would be a madrina to his godmother, Martina (the woman speaker in the betrothal negotiations). This provoked a great deal of laughter among the women. They then joked with Mariano about Pablo's other madrina, a Ladina from the neighboring town who sells the blood of slaughtered bulls. They refer to her as *me? Skitsoo*, the fat one. Mariano remarked to the women that Victorio's father must be a witch, and someone would try to kill him on the road. The conversation turned from the danger of going alone in the woods to a discussion of hunting. Feliciano bragged that he had an excellent hunting dog which he bought from a Ladino and which he referred to as "the Ladino dog." Mariano asked what Ladino they bought it from, but Feliciano denied knowledge of who the man was. They suggested it was nothing but a Huistecan Indian who changed his clothing. The joking and drinking continued until midnight, when the assembled company finally broke up. The next day Alberta went to live with her husband in the new house he had built.

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B. Court Arrangement of Separation

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Persons present:

Judge
Father of Plaintiff
Mother of Plaintiff
Plaintiff
Husband of Plaintiff
Regidor
President

This case concerns a husband who had been separated from his wife and wished a settlement so that she would return to him. The man had been married before, and he occasionally returned to his first wife. When he got drunk,

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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695 he announced on the loudspeaker of the cantina that he was a poor man who
593 had to maintain two wives. This caused embarrassment to his second wife,
578 who asked for the hearing in order to separate from him. He was working in
586 the sawmill and had not provided for her support. The text is a translation of the transcription of a tape recording in Tzeltal.

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593 Judge [to father of Plaintiff]: *Come, Mam compadre, and give evidence of what*
578 *has happened.*
586 Father: *This isn't the first time he has left his wife. It would be different, Mam*
126 *compadre, if he had only left her once, but he has left her several times.*
Judge: *Why do you keep on leaving her and coming back? It would be better to get her out of your system once and for all.*
Mother: *He goes to his mother's house but then comes back just to fight.*
Judge: *You ought to stop your fighting when you go to your wife.*
Father: *So it is, Mam Judge. If it had just been a few words or one visit, but he is always coming here to fight. Even if you drink, you should speak well when you come to our house.*
Plaintiff: *He said he had nothing to eat but dry tortillas. I said to him, 'Go heat your tortillas. You're going to have to live like a woman if you get rid of your wife. Who is going to watch for you at the gate since I no longer intend to? There is nothing to eat in the house because there isn't any money."*
Judge: *She says this because she is angry.*
Mother: *She speaks because she isn't a fool. He can't answer this.*
Judge: *They are still young, but they will learn. Also, he ought not to continue drinking.*
Mother: *He doesn't obey me. Eight days later, and he repeats the same abuse.*
Judge [to husband]: *Why do you want to do this?*
Husband: *I want a woman who takes good care of me.*
Father: *Does his wife have a lover, that she leaves the house uncared for?*
Husband: *We're fighting because she is always going off to my mother-in-law's house.*
Plaintiff: *Every time he gets drunk, he comes shouting. Why shouldn't I leave so that the child doesn't see us fighting?*
Husband: *I get drunk because of the fighting. If there wasn't any fighting I would just want a soda.*
Plaintiff: *Who wants that? There wouldn't be any fighting if you didn't come.*
Mother: *God can say that we don't want the embarrassment. I said, "Stop fighting. It isn't good. She doesn't give you tortillas or atole because you are always*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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fighting. You ought to speak in sobriety. Why do you always want to fight and argue?"

Plaintiff: *At first it was the fault of a little board. For the crime of giving my mother a little piece of wood I had to come here the first time [refers to dispute arising over some wood which plaintiff had lent or given to her mother, and for which Husband wanted money].*

Mother: *I am supporting the children he comes and "asks for" [refers to the fact that husband impregnates wife, and then does not support the family]. The child cried a great deal when we were inside the cabildo. It was I who had to feed him. Why would I want this, my compadre judges? A husband who leaves you . . .*

Father: *How is the child going to grow up? And he keeps asking for another one.*

Mother: *You treat your wife like a mule, like a horse when you go to work. When I asked him to get some wood, he said, "Have I turned into your husband? Don't tell me what to do."*

Plaintiff: *If he gave something it would be good, but he never has supported me or even pays anything when he comes here.*

Mother: *He is never coming back to our house. We have spoken to the Ladino [Ramon, the former secretary who wrote out the marriage act]. We went to San Cristóbal to see what they would say. [Speaking to husband] But you don't listen to what he told you. You don't pay any attention because you are a devil. What good is it for us to go up to San Cristóbal?*

Father: *You should go, but you go on fighting as you started.*

Judge: [to husband]: *You should stay sober.*

Mother: *If he came to me sober, I would give him atole or sodas, Mam compadre. I returned the little board he had lent me, but he broke it.*

Plaintiff: *I gave him money for some soap, but he never gave account of that.*

Judge: *Now are you going to go with him?*

Plaintiff: *I am never going to go with him, elder brother. Even if he says he wants to take me back to his house, because I am not in his heart.*

Judge: *Ah, no. Let us explain.*

Mother: *Do you want to hear worse? No one is going to stay just to cook tortillas.*

Father: *It would be good, compadre, if she split with him.*

Judge: *They cannot split up because they are married.*

Father: *Well, compadre, if they [husband's family] take her back, then I am not going to return here. I am going to have to go to San Cristóbal.*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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695 Regidor: *What has been arranged isn't good. There are small children, and he*
593 *cannot support them.*
578 Judge: *But what else can they do, compadre? Better go to the man's house and*
586 *make a fire there [a metaphorical allusion to acting as a wife in keeping the*
126 *home fires burning].*

Plaintiff: *Although you speak to him, he doesn't listen. He never listened to his father.*

Husband: *What do you want to bring up my dead father for? He never ordered me, nor has any other person.*

Plaintiff: *I am not a fool. You gave me a wound, you broke my tooth. We want to stop all this and finish with the trouble you cause.*

Mother: *Let's come to some understanding. If it is only the trouble with the board, then I will give him the money and see if it is what he says.*

Judge: *This is not good, my compadre. It isn't going to content your heart.*

Mother: *I want to return and take out the marriage paper. It was Don Ramon who married them.*

Judge: *It isn't good for you to go do that. We are trying to arrange things here. The president has charge of the archives.*

Plaintiff: *He told me he was angry. I said, "Why do you want to sell the boards?" [This refers to the wood she had lent her mother.] He said, "I am going to bring more." I asked him again why he wanted to sell the boards. He said he had received money for them. He asked me where the boards were, and I said I had lent them to my mother. "Go get them if you want them," I said. He never gave me back the payment for the soap that I gave him. He spent it for liquor. I said to him, "Where is the soap?" and he said, "I spent it on liquor." When he gets drunk, he begins to fight me. He doesn't want me to talk back, but what does he expect? He said he was going to get another wife, that I was very lazy and very slack. I told him, "Why don't you go out and cut some wood?" He said, "Where do you think I am going to get some wood?" I was ashamed to go before my brother-in-law with my child and ask him. He never wanted to cut wood or ocote.*

Judge: *It is not good what he did. He should do what is necessary in the house.*

Plaintiff: *It is for this reason that I don't want to go with him, Mam Judge. He is always saying that his first wife was a very good worker. If I didn't have a husband or if there were no children, I would bring the wood, but I am not going to do it while he is around.*

Judge: *What would you say if he brought you back to his house?*

Plaintiff: *But I don't want it. What does he want me for? You heard him say I am a whore. He said I was a bitch. He said, "You are an old shit!" I don't want to have anything to do with him. What does he want me for if I am an old whore as he says? He said she [first wife] was a better woman than I.* 695 593 578 586
Father: *The judge told him before, "Go give your wife some support." We had three settlements before this. Mam Ramon said he was sick of seeing the woman in court so often.* 1 22
Judge: *First we will try to settle things here, and if he doesn't go in accord with custom, then you can go up to San Cristóbal.*
Father: *Here me, Mam judges, everyone fights occasionally, maybe makes two or three trips to court. But every time he gets drunk, he looks for a fight. I told him to stop fighting, but he doesn't listen. If I let my daughter go with him, he just takes her and produces more children. I have always had to support her then. He doesn't come around either drunk or sober. If he had come and told me what her fault was, then it would be good. When I had asked him what sins she had committed, he didn't say anything.*
Husband: *She just told me, "Leave me here and you go with your mother. I shall go back to my house."*
Plaintiff: *I left word with him that I was finished because of all the fighting. I don't want to go with a drunkard. [To husband] Even if you drink, you shouldn't beat me.*
Judge: *If you want a woman, you ought to support her. You shouldn't fight.*
Husband: *She told me, "You aren't the only man in the world. There are plenty of men who would want me."*
Plaintiff: *I never said that! You're looking for a fight!*
Husband: *What do you mean you didn't say that? My mother heard it.*
Plaintiff: *Go bring your mother. She didn't want to come because she is ashamed. It isn't the first time we are settling things in court.*
Judge: *You ought to go with him this time, but if it happens again, we will split you up. What else can we do if you don't obey our advice?*
Father: *When he goes to work, Mam compadre, he ought to look and see how much pay he is getting and how it will stretch to support his wife. Then she will make his tortillas for him contentedly, and there won't be any fighting.*
Judge: *We say that when he comes home from work he should ask his wife what she wants to spend for coffee or salt and all the things she will have to buy.*
Plaintiff: *He doesn't give any account of his little pay.*
Husband: *I don't want to say how much there is because there are still debts*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

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from when I was asking for her [refers to betrothal expenses]. When the debt is paid off, then I can.

Judge [to wife]: *You heard that he will have to pay off the debt. Now go with your husband in one heart. [To husband] Go with your wife. If you have enough money, ask your wife if she needs some coffee or if she needs salt and wants the payment of it. You have to give some money in order to live contentedly.*

Father: *So it is, Mam compadre. It is good to be content and see the fire in the hearth. One time he came to my house and I said, "Come in. Let's take a look at what money you have earned." I told him to go save his money, give it to his wife to keep it for him. That is what I said to him.*

Regidor: *And it wasn't to deceive him. It would be good if he would believe [obey] this advice. They have been paying him double because he is a labor agent.*

Judge [to father]: *So it is, Mam compadre. Let it rest there.*

Regidor [to husband]: *The day after tomorrow, don't come back here with a couple more children and say you don't want her. Go back to your mother's house. You are lucky to have a wife. If you don't have a wife, you go get drunk every day. But with a wife life is good. She will give you coffee and corn to eat. Don't go on fighting when drunk or sober. Both my compadres have advised you [refers to judges].*

Mother: *So it is, Mam compadre. I am going now, Mam compadre. [Rises and leaves].*

Judge: *Go then, my compadre.*

The father and the husband give money for the fourth regidor to buy beer, and the group of men sit and drink the two family-size bottles which are purchased.

59 supported by her husband and father-in-law, and lives under their
562 roof. If the husband dies, she is supposed to go back to live
(606) with her parents as she did when she was single or live with a mature son who becomes responsible for her welfare and has some authority over her, as can be seen in the following example.

159 A woman had two sons by her first husband, the elder of
593 which, at the time of the events related here, was married. The
581 first husband died, and the woman married another man with whom
586 she had another son. After a period of common residence, the second marriage broke up. The woman bought some land for a house, saving money for it by working in San Cristóbal and selling trago. She lived in this house with her married son and his wife.

The father of the last child (second marriage) offered to give the boy some new clothes. Before the woman accepted them, she asked her elder son's permission. The clothes were accepted because the woman's son said: "He is his father, and he should give clothes to his son."

592 The bases for the structure of the social relations within
561 the household are relative age, sex, kinship proximity to the
562 household head, and economic responsibility for the upkeep of the
602 unit. Elder men have more authority than younger men; elder women more than younger ones. Men have more authority than women (perhaps, on some occasions, with the exception of the mother), and finally, agnatic kin of the household head have more authority
597 than affinals. The result of this ordering of power within the
606 household is that a daughter-in-law is at the bottom of the

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her before making important decisions, and allow her to handle some of the household property, such as the selling of pigs.

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But even under the best conditions, the position of a woman is de facto lower than the position of men. If her husband gets drunk and beats her up, she is not supposed to complain, but accept it as part of her role. One of our informants said that once she scolded her husband for drinking, and he said: "I am not

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asking you for the money." If he is unfaithful, she has no real way of controlling his behavior except by leaving his house, running away to San Cristóbal to work for a few days as a servant or breaking up the marriage.

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In Amatenango, the pottery making village, the situation is quite different. First, women are economically independent, being able to make a living without a male in the household. Second, they control the profits made by the household from the sale of pottery and from the sale of cash crops such as chayotes which they plant in their gardens. In many cases, they own the house in which they live with their husband and children. They contribute as much as their male siblings to the support of the whole domestic group while they were living in their family's home, and it is possible for them to inherit both land and cattle, a fact which reinforces the equivalent standing between women and their male siblings.

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Adultery in Amatenango has strong reactive sanctions for both men and women, and a "wife is considered within her rights to order an erring husband out of the house." "Women do not tolerate

591 patrilocality at a young age, just as filialocality is the complementary form of female matrilocality. If we compare the percentages of distribution of both forms, we can observe that the complementarity is expressed in similar distributions.

	Per cent		Per cent
Patrilocal	72	Filiolocal	60
Matrilocal	23	Filialocal	20
Other	5	Other	20

This distribution of filiolocality occurs because the norm is to reside with the son to whom one has given the house, but also because in making a choice between relatives with whom to live, it is preferred to choose a male and not a female line. In some cases, consequently, it is preferred to live with a brother rather than with a daughter.

[586] [592] Children of divorced mothers become members of the household where the mother resides after the divorce. If the mother dies while she is still married to the children's father, the 587 children become members of the father's parents' household. When 591 a man remarries, he usually does not bring his children from [183] previous marriages to his wife. We have only one case of a child living with the father after the father's second marriage. The reasons for this anomalous case are individual ones. The child's father's mother is the only other relative alive, besides the father, and she resides in the same household. The fact that the paternal grandmother and not the father is the sponsor of the [601] child, is clear from the information attached to the case. The child, a girl, sleeps with the grandmother and calls her mother.

184 591 602 4. In both villages, among consanguineal sponsors, lineal relatives who have immediate economic duties are preferred as sponsors over collaterals.

5. In Aguacatenango, among consanguineal sponsors, agnatically linked relatives are preferred over non-agnatic relatives, while in Amatenango, any consanguineal relative, a matri- or patrilineal one, is an equally likely choice.

184 591 561 6. In both villages, economic dependency is usually assigned within the parental and the children's generation, rather than within the same generation, the result being that residence sponsors are preferred to be from alternate rather than the same generation, and within the same generation, sponsors are selected in terms of seniority over Ego.

184 591 562 434 7. In both villages, spouses reside together. In Aguacatenango, the residence sponsor is the husband, while in Amatenango, either husband or wife can be sponsors. Males are the only sponsors when they are the only household members responsible for the support of the unit. Women and men are sponsors where both share the economic burden of supporting the household. Women are sponsors when they are the only ones responsible for the economic demands of the domestic group, and when their husbands work with their fathers.

184 591 586 602 8. Unmarried children reside with both parents, and work with the parent of the same sex. If the parents are separated when the children are small, they stay with the mother. In Aguacatenango, if the mother is dead, a patrilineal sponsor other than

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

184 591 586 602 the father is preferred, while in Amatenango, both paternal and maternal relatives are equally good choices.

184 586 591 434 9. In Aguacatenango, where widows are incapable of supporting the economic demands of the household by themselves, they choose to reside with a male sponsor in another household, while in Amatenango, they can be self-sponsors and the heads of their own domestic groups.

184 621 582 591 10. In both villages, residence within one's barrio is preferred over residence in any other territorial division. In Amatenango, cross-barrio marriages are accompanied by matri-uxorilocal residence as well as patri-virilocal residence, which results in both men and women residing in a barrio other than their own (11 per cent and 16 per cent respectively). This results in Aguacatenango barrios being related only through the circulation of women between them, while in Amatenango, both men and women are transmitted between families across barrio lines, in both directions.

184 621 602 [592] The structuring of economic and residential sponsorship produces two different types of neighborhoods in the two villages. In Aguacatenango, the neighborhood tends to be a cluster of agnatically linked households, while in Amatenango, it is composed [613] of a set of kindred. The barrio in Aguacatenango, then, is a [562] territorial division containing neighborhoods which are localized agnatic groups, which I call localized patrilines, with few non-relatives and bilateral kinsmen enclaved throughout the blocks; a man does not separate from his territory or barrio, nor from his neighborhood, while a woman circulates within neighborhoods after 184 621 591 marriage and even within barrios. In Amatenango, both men and